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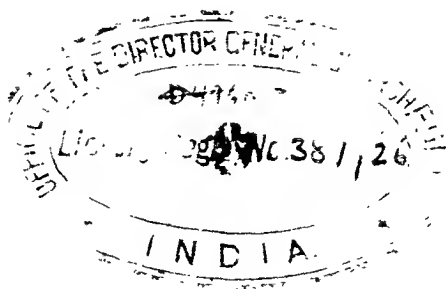
No. 1.

NĀLANDĀ COPPER-PLATE OF DEVAPĀLADEVA

BY

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PREFACE.

Nālandā Copper-plate of Devapāla.

More than ten years ago a resolution was passed by our Council of Management to publish certain original articles of Archaeological and Historical interest, as Monographs of the Society. The resolution, unfortunately, was not given effect to. Since then the Society's activities have considerably increased and the want of such a publication is now more keenly felt than before. Such monographs will be welcome to the members of the Society who get at present but little material return for the subscriptions they pay, and will also stimulate research by providing them with a means of expression. The Society is glad to revive the idea and place before the public their first Monograph—viz. "the Nālandā Copperplate of Devapāladeva," contributed by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, the Curator.

The thanks of the Society are due to Kumar Hemendra Kumar Ray of Dighapatiya who has very generously provided funds for printing this Monograph. It is hoped that other scholars and donors will come forward with their contributions and enable the Society to continue this series.

Varendra Research Society
RAJSHAHI
The 28th March, 1926.

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NĀLANDĀ COPPER-PLATE OF DEVAPĀLADEVA.

BY N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A.

This copper-plate was found in 1921 in course of excavations at Nālandā, modern Bargāon, a station on the Bakhtiarpur-Bihar Light Railway, by Mr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī, M.A. A tentative summary of the epigraph was first published in the *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle*, 1920-21, pp. 37-38 and in the Director-General's *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1920-21, p. 27. Subsequently a more detailed account of its contents was given by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his *Bāṅglār Itihās*, vol. I (Second edition), pp. 208-10. Recently Mr. Śāstrī has edited it in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 310-27 and pl. As the record is one of exceptional importance I venture to re-edit it with my own comments, from the excellent facsimile accompanying Mr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī's article as well as a set of inked estampages kindly lent to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Śāstrī, B.A., Epigraphist to the Government of India.

This is a single plate inscribed on both the sides. The inscribed surface measures 1'10" × 1'3½" on one side and 1'¼" × 1'4" on the other. The writing consists of 66 lines. Of these as many as 42 lines are engraved on the obverse and 24 on the reverse. The letters are about ⅜" in size. There is a highly ornamented seal soldered on the top of the plate, bearing the well-known Dharmachakra symbol which was the emblem of the Pāla and Chandra dynasties of Bengal. It represents a wheel placed between two gazelles, symbolising Buddha's first preaching at Sārnāth. Below this representation is the legend *Śrī-Devapāladevasya*, i. e., 'of Śrī-Devapāladeva,' written across the seal. The ornament thus attached to the plate

interposes between, and causes a gap in the middle of, the first five lines on the obverse and reverse sides of the plate, and projects about $6\frac{1}{2}$ " above it.

The characters belong to a type of the Northern class of alphabets of about the ninth century A. D., as found in Khālimpur copper-plate of Dharmapāla,¹ the Mungir copper-plate of Devapāla² and the Ghoshrāwā inscription of Vīradeva,³ which, by Kielhorn, is described as a Magadha variety of the Nāgarī alphabet.⁴ Properly speaking, however, it should be called the "Eastern variety of Nāgarī", because it was by no means confined to the territorial limits of Magadha. The inscription contains the final forms of *t* and *m*. Final *t* shows at least three varieties : an inverted one *e.g.* in *skandhāvārāt*, l. 24 ; the ordinary letter *t* with the *virāma* stroke beneath it *e.g.* in *digantarālāt*, l. 23 ; and a slanting one without the top stroke *e.g.* in *samvat*, l. 42. The form of the final *n* may be seen in *abhūvan*, l. 6. According to Mr. Śāstrī's reading final *m* occurs in *pitṛinām* in l. 9 and in a number of other places. But I have no doubt that in every case it has to be taken as an *anuvāra* sign consisting of a circular dot with a curve or hook below it (somewhat approaching the modern Bengali *anuvāra*) for final *m*. The inscription contains instances of initial *a*, *ā*, *i*, *u*, and *e*. The initial *ā* is formed by the addition of the *ā-kāra* stroke to the right of *a* as in the Khālimpur plate. There is no hooked type of *ā*, which occurs in the Ghoshrāwā inscription,⁵ and also in some earlier inscriptions of Northern India.⁶ Initial *i* presents at least two different forms : one consisting of a horizontal line above two circles, *e.g.* in *iti*, l. 7 ; and another in which there are two circles with a hook below them, *e.g.* in *iti*, l. 42. The form

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 243 ff; for facsimile see J. A. S. B., Vol. LXIII, part I, pl. III.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 254 ; for facsimile see *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, opposite p. 123.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp 307 ff and pl. opposite p. 310.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 244. ⁵ Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 308.

⁶ *E.g.* in the Haraha inscription of 534 A. D., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, facsimile opposite p. 118.

of initial *e* is noteworthy, *e. g.* in *eva*, l. 20. It is not of the looped or closed type occurring for instance in l. 43 of the Khālimpur copper-plate, but represents the proto-Bengali form as found, *e. g.* in the Deopārā inscription of Vijaya-sena (see Bühler's *Tafel V*, col. XVIII, 7). With the Khālimpur copper-plate the present record bears a general agreement in alphabetic forms, although in regard to a few letters *e. g.* *gh* and *th* a difference is decidedly perceptible. In the former the letter *gh* has the middle vertical touching the top-stroke, while in the latter it has become shorter in length and does not reach the height of the other two verticals. The letter *th* in the present record shows, side by side with a form, *e. g.* in *Prithu*, l. 6, which has developed out of the type occurring in the Khālimpur copper-plate, another in which the upper half presents an opening to the left of the letter, *e. g.* in *prathita*, l. 20. Among conjuncts noteworthy is *rth* for which a separate sign is employed.¹ The conjunct *ry* is not denoted by a separate sign as in the Ghoshrāwā inscription, but is indicated by the placing of the superscript *r* on the top of *y*. The sign of *visarga*, in which the lower circle often takes the shape of a hook, is sometimes difficult to distinguish from a type of *anusvāra* approximating the same form. The sign of *acagraha* is used in three out of eight cases.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory *om svasti* the record is in verse down to the commencement of the formal part of the grant, which is in prose, beginning with *sa khalu* etc. in line 21 and ending with *dharmānuśānsana-ślokāḥ* in line 43. This is followed up in lines 43-50 by the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses. The concluding portion, lines 50-66, which is a sort of postscript and records the transference of the grant by the donee, is also in verse. In respect of **lexicography** the only word deserving notice is the indecli-

¹ See Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 244.

nable *śanakam* in l. 57, which stands for *śanakaiḥ* or *śanaiḥ* meaning 'slowly.'

As regards orthography it may be stated that both *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign ; a *visarga* before a dental sibilant becomes *s* ; a letter following a superscript *r* is occasionally doubled ; final *m* is often assimilated with the following consonant, often retained before *v*, *p*, and *s* and conjoined with them, and in places, though not followed by any consonant, it is changed into *anusvāra*. The scribe has on the whole done his work very creditably, the only mentionable mistakes being the use of *śh* for *ś* in *bhrisham* (l. 55) and the employment of the sign of interpunctuation in places where it is not needed, *e. g.* between the second and third letters of *nṛipasya* (l. 54).

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Sugata (i. e. Buddha), the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Devapāladeva, who meditated on the feet of the devout worshipper of Sugata (i. e. Buddha), the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Dharmapāladeva (lines 24-26), and consists clearly of two parts : one recording the gift of Devapāladeva and the other recording the transference of the same gift by the donee to a Vihāra.

(Part I) : It opens with the usual auspicious formula *om svasti* which is followed by a verse in honour of Buddha (lines 1-4). It then gives in fourteen verses (exactly as in the Mungir plate of Devapāla) the well-known genealogy of the Pāla dynasty beginning with Gopāla and ending with Devapāla (lines 4-21). Then comes the customary description of the Royal Camp, which was situated at Mudgagiri (lines 21-24), the place from where the document is issued. In the formal part of the grant which is now introduced (lines 26 ff.), it is stated that the gift consisted of five villages all lying in the Śrīnagara-*bhukti*, viz., Nandivanāka and Maṇivāṭaka in the Ajapura-

naya of the Rājagṛīha-*viśaya* ; Naṭikā in the Pilipīṅkā-*naya* and Hastigrāma in the Achalā-*naya* of the same *viśaya*; and Pālāmaka in the Kumudasūtra-vīthī of the Gayā-*viśaya* (lines 26-28). From his camp at Mudgagiri Devapāla informs his various officials and others concerned with the transaction recorded in this document (lines 28-33), that the villages are made over by means of a copper-plate charter for the worship of the Lord Buddha and for the provision of offerings, oblations, shelter, garments, alms, lying and sitting accommodation, as well as medicine and other requisites, in respect of 'the multitude of Bodhisattvas' and the Community of Buddhist monks from all quarters comprising the Eight classes of 'great beings,' and also for the copying out of religious texts and the necessary repairs of the monastery,—on being informed through ambassadors that the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Bālaputradeva, Lord of Suvarṇadvīpa, i. e. Sumatra, has established a Vihāra at Nālandā (lines 36-40). Then follows the date of the grant which is the year 39, the 21st day of Kārttika (line 42), and thus concludes the formal part of the grant. The subsequent eight lines, viz. 43-50, contain six of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. The next verse, which is introduced in lines 50-51, tells us that the illustrious Balavarman, the ruler of Vyāghrataṭī-maṇḍala acted as the Dūta of this grant. Ordinarily a royal land-grant should have ended here, after the benedictive and imprecatory verses are put in and the mention of the Dūta is made. But in this particular instance the document continues; and this portion, which is in the nature of an appendix or postscript, may, therefore, be treated as Part II of the Record.

(Part II) : It begins with a description of the dynasty to which Bālaputradeva (the donee of Part I) belongs. In the Śailendravarmanśa (line 52) was born VĪRAVAIRI-MATHANA, king of Yavabhūmi (i. e. Jāvā); his son was SAMARAGRAVĪRA from whose chief queen Tārā, the daughter

of king Varmasetu of the Soma dynasty (line 59), was born BALAPUTRA (lines 59-61). Being attracted by the virtues of Nālandā and through devotion towards Buddha, he erected there a Vihāra (lines 61-62), and having received the afore-said five villages as a result of entreaties made through his ambassadors, from king Devapāla, made a gift of them (lines 63-64). There is one verse more in which it is prayed that the meritorious act, *i. e.* the grant, may be everlasting (lines 64-66), and this finally brings the document to a close.

As these two parts are included in the same charter bearing the seal of king Devapāla, and as the writing is clearly of one scribe throughout, there is no doubt that the whole instrument including the appended portion was drawn up at one and the same time.

The inscription throws welcome light on the question of cultural relations between the islands of the Indian Archipelago and Northern India. The investigations of Dutch and French Archæologists have brought to light a mass of facts bearing on India's contribution to the civilisation of the Far East. The most important and salient of them have been given briefly in English by Prof. Vogel in a paper written for the India Society,¹ London, and by Prof. Foucher in another paper written at the instance of the Calcutta University.² These give us a fair idea as to the nature and extent of influence India exerted over her neighbours across the seas, in the sphere of art and religion. But the question that presents itself to the historian is of a deeper character. It is true that Indians colonised Sumatra, Java and other islands in the Indian Ocean as well as Cambodia, Siam and so on on the main land. But from which particular part or parts of India did the colonists emigrate to these regions? Southern India has always been looked upon as

¹ *Influences of Indian Art*, pp 30-80.

² *Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Vols.*, *Orientalia*, part I (Calcutta 1922), pp. 1-35.

the main source from which Indian civilisation was derived by her sea-girt neighbours, and indeed evidence of their being ruled over by princes of South-Indian origin is not wanting. But the question whether or how far Northern India contributed to this spread of Aryan culture has not yet been properly threshed out.

As early as 1876 Burnell published a letter in the *Academy*, recording his impressions of a trip to Java. This letter which was reproduced in the *Indian Antiquary* of the same year contained the following observations: "There was evidently a large emigration of Buddhists from North India to Java about the eleventh century A. D., and these took with them a Nāgarī alphabet, which is a great contrast to the old Javanese character These emigrants took with them a highly developed form of the Northern Buddhism."¹ What these Nāgarī inscriptions were Burnell does not tell us. Eleven years later Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar received a photograph of apparently one of these from a European friend of his named Mr. Baumgarten. The former exhibited it in a meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and read also a very learned paper dealing with the contents of the inscription.² It records the building of a temple of the Buddhist goddess Tārā as well as a dwelling for *Bhikshus* who are described as versed in the Vinaya and the Mahāyāna, by a king called Kariyāna-Panañkarana at the instance of the *Guru* of the Śailendra kings. The inscription comes from a place called Kalasan in Central Java and is dated in 700 Śaka, i. e. 778 A. D. In course of his paper Sir Ramkrishna said, "the characters resemble those of North-Indian inscriptions of the period between the eighth and eleventh centuries; being a good deal like those in the Radhanpur grant of Govinda III., dated 730 Śaka or 808 A. D., the grant

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 316.

² *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVII, part II, pp. 1-10, "A Sanskrit Inscription from Central Java." Also edited by Dr. Brandes in *Tij. voor de Taal, Landen-volkenkunde van Ned. Ind.*, 1886, p. 240 ff.

of Vākpatirāja of 1031 Samvat corresponding to 975 A. D., and the inscription at Deval in Rohilkhand dated 1049 Samvat or 993 A. D. ; while *the style of execution is almost exactly like that of an inscription found at Ghosrāvan, near the old city of Nālandā in Magadha or Bihar*, which I translated for Mr. Broadly in 1872, and which is to be referred to about the middle of the ninth century.”¹ Later on he said, “In the Fourth Volume of the *Indian Antiquary* (p. 356), two small Sanskrit inscriptions from East Java are published, the characters of which are unmistakably South-Indian ; while our inscription is, as we have seen, in the Nāgarī character from the North, especially from Magadha or Bihar, thus, showing that Hindus both from Northern and Southern India went and settled in the island.”² The emigrants who are responsible for the script used in the epigraph must have settled in the island not long prior to 778 A. D. They could not certainly have been those, faintly though significantly, referred to by Fa-hien in the fifth century A. D.³ As Bhandarkar pointed out, “If they established a colony in the island before the beginning of the fifth century and carried with them the Sanskrit alphabet of the time, they could not, if they were cut off from the parent country, develop out of it the fine Nāgarī letters of the inscription before us, so alike in every respect to those in use in Northern India four centuries later.”⁴ The Nāgarī characters of Northern India are found also in another inscription discovered at Kloerak in Java which is dated in Śaka year 704 i. e. A. D. 782. It refers to the consecration of an image of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī or Mañjughosha which had been set up at the instance of the preceptor of a king who is called in the inscription ‘the ornament of the Sailendra Dynasty’.⁵ The

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 4. The italics are mine.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

³ They arrived at a country called Java-dvīpa, “where various forms of error and Brahmanism are flourishing, while Buddhism in it is not worth speaking of”—Legge, *Fa-hien*, p. 113.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁵ *Influences of Indian Art*, p. 54.

characters of these Buddhist inscriptions from Java have been pointed out to be in great contrast with those of the Brahmanical records from the island, and in view of this fact Prof. Vogel has rightly remarked, "Are we then to assume that the emigrants who introduced Buddhism into Java came from the North, as the promoters of Brahmanism in all likelihood hailed from the south of the Indian Continent?"¹ Indeed the palæography of the inscriptions is strongly in favour of such a hypothesis, and so also is the fact that a developed form of Northern Buddhism which included among other things the worship of Tārā and Mañjuśrī prevailed in the island as early as the eighth century A. D.

Now, if Java was influenced by Northern Buddhism, is there anything in its art which is particularly reminiscent of the art of Northern India? In the Raffles collection of the British Museum there is a number of miniature bronze images from Java some of which have been described and illustrated by Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy. Regarding one of these, which is a figure of Mañjuśrī and is assigned by him to the ninth century A. D., he observes that it "closely resembles a sculpture from Magadha illustrated by Foucher (*Iconographic Bouddhique*, Part II. p. 43, fig. 3)."² Similar conclusions, I may add, will also be arrived at from a study of the bronze images from Java in the Royal Museum at Batavia, illustrations of some of which have recently been published by Dr. N. J. Krom.³ The resemblance between the Buddhist images of Magadha of the Pāla period and those of Java cannot be easily ignored and is possibly to be ascribed to the fact that Java derived its Buddhism from Northern India. But the question arises, which part of Northern India contributed to this spread of Buddhism across the seas?

If we turn our attention to the accounts of the

¹ Ibid., p. 53 ² *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, p. 291.

³ N. J. Krom, *De Buddh. Bronzen in het Mus. Bat.* (1912), Plates 13-19. I am obliged to Johann van Manen for a copy of this monograph.

Chinese travellers Fa-Hien, Yuan-Chuang and I-Tsing we shall see that it was the eastern part of Northern India that had systematic maritime relations with the islands of the Indian Ocean and even China, in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries A. D. Fa-Hien boarded his ship at Tāmralipti (modern Tamluk in Bengal) and proceeded on his way to China via Java.¹ Two centuries later when Yuan-Chuang was going back to China, he was assured by king Bhāskara-varman of Kārnasuvārṇa that 'if you select the Southern sea-route then I will send official attendants to accompany you.'² This 'Southern sea-route' of the days of Yuan-Chuang lay of course via Tāmralipti. Again in 673 A. D. when I-Tsing came to visit India he landed at the same port along with 'many hundreds of merchants' who went to Central India.³ He also returned by the same route and observed: "This is the place where we embark while returning to China."⁴ A second sea-port of eastern India was Harikela, which was also in Bengal and according to I-Tsing was the 'eastern limit of Eastern India.' From Sīmhala (Ceylon) he sailed for the North-east and came to Harikela.⁵

Thus there was a convenient route connecting North-eastern India with Java, Sumatra and other islands of the Indian Archipelago. No Indian testimony was however, hitherto available to show that there was actual communication between North-eastern India and these islands. The present record is, therefore, the first of its kind that throws light on this very important topic. For it actually relates how there were interchanges of envoys between Devapāla, the Pāla king of Gauda and Magadha and Bālaputradeva, king of Sumatra. The latter built a Buddhist monastery at Nā-

¹ Legge, *Fa-Hien*, p. 100. See R. Chanda, 'Early Indian Seamen' *Ashutosh Mukherjee Com. Vol. (Orientalia)*, pp. 117-118.

² Beal's *Life of Hiuen-Tsang*, p. 183.

³ Takakusu, *I-Tsing*, p. XXXI.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. XXXIII-XXXIV.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. XLVI.

landā and for its maintenance received a grant of five villages from the former. The manner in which this incident is described (see verse 32) shows that Bālaputradeva had great fascination for Nālandā, the premier seat of Buddhism of Northern India, and that he himself was a devout Buddhist. He despatched possibly more than one embassies (*dūtaiḥ*, l. 63) to the Pāla king no doubt for the furtherance of Buddhism in his own kingdom. The glory of Nālandā of the days of Devapāla and his connection with it are clearly described in the Ghoshrāwā inscription of Viradeva, who was 'treated with reverence' by him and was 'permanently appointed to govern Nālandā.'¹ Nālandā must have had an international reputation as a great centre of Buddhist culture, reaching beyond the seas, even in the time of Yuan-Chuang, and students (like I-Tsing for instance) flocked there not only from different parts of India, but also from distant foreign lands like China, to receive prolonged and systematic instruction in Buddhistic texts and practices. Regarding these foreign students the Chinese traveller I-Tsing himself observes: "They pass two or three years, generally in the Nālandā monastery in Central India, or in the country of Valabhī (Wālā) in Western India. These two places are like Chin-ma, Shih-chü, Lung-mên, and Ch'ue-li in China, and there eminent and accomplished men assemble in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines, and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinion by wise men, become far-famed for their wisdom. To try the sharpness of their wit (lit. 'sharp point of the sword'), they proceed to the king's court to lay down before it the sharp weapon (of their abilities); there they present their schemes and show their (*political*) talent, seeking to be appointed in the practical government."² Such was the unique position of Nālandā in those days, and this explains why the king of Sumatra was so anxious to maintain a monastic

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 310, ll. 10-11.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 177.

establishment there, undoubtedly for the convenience of Sumatran pilgrims to this great centre of Buddhism. The present record says that the monastery he built at Nālandā was for the residence of the Saṅgha of Buddhist monks, and he describes himself as its Wealth, Friend and Beauty.

This intimate connection of the Śailendras of Java and Sumatra with Nālandā is a fact of paramount importance and points to Magadha with its great centre of Buddhism viz. Nālandā, as the probable source from which the religion was derived by the islands of the Indian Archipelago. In view of this fact it would be possible to explain the discovery of Buddhist inscriptions in North-Indian characters and of images of the Buddhist pantheon having North-Indian affinities, in the island of Java. These Buddhist inscriptions, as already stated, belong to the last quarter of the eighth century A. D. and would be two or three generations earlier than the time of Devapāla, contemporary of Bālaputradeva, the third king of the Śailendra dynasty. The Śailendra king of Java who is alluded to in these records would therefore be the father, or more probably the grandfather, of Bālaputradeva. Thus the Śailendras seem to have been Buddhists from the very beginning.

About the royal dynasty of the Śailendras of Java and Sumatra much useful information has been collected by Mr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī with the help of Javanese archæologists. The Śailendras, who appear to have been of South-Indian origin, were rulers of the kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya, which is the old name of Palembang, in Sumatra. They must have come to power as early as the eighth century A. D. and ruled over their island possessions, which included Java and Sumatra, for close upon four centuries. Lines 52 ff. of the present record describe, as already stated, the family of Bālaputradeva, king of Sumatra. The name of his grand-father is given in l. 52 as Vīra-vairi-mathana, who is called king

of Java. The expression *Śrī-Vīra-vairi-mathan-āvagat-ābhidhānaḥ* is translated by Mr. Śāstrī as 'one whose name was conformable to the illustrious tormentor of brave foes.' I have, however, no doubt that the word, which is prefixed by *Śrī*, viz., *Vīra-vairi-mathana*, was his actual name or *viruda*. Mr. Śāstrī says that 'the name of the father of Bālaputradeva is not given at all' (*op. cit.*, p. 312). It must be noted, however, that more than three verses are devoted to him and the names of his wife, viz., *Tārā* and of his father-in-law, viz., *Varmasetu*, are mentioned in the record. It would be impossible to believe that all these are mentioned but not his own name. The first of the three verses devoted to Bālaputradeva's father is as follows :

तस्याभवन्नयपराक्रमशीलशाली राजेन्द्रमौलिशतदुल्ललिताङ्घ्रियुग्मः ।
सुनुर्युधिष्ठिर-पराशर-भौमसेन-कर्षाञ्जनाञ्जितयशः समरायवीरः ॥

One would naturally expect here not merely a description of *Vīra-vairi-mathana*'s son (*sūnu*) but also his name or *viruda*. And I feel certain that his name or *viruda* was *Samarāgravīra*, which is the last word in the above verse. Names or *virudas* of kings with a word denoting 'war' as the first component e. g. *Samgrāmaabhīma*, *Samgrāmadhīra*, *Yuddhamalla* and so on are too well-known from South-Indian inscriptions. If this view be accepted the genealogy of the line of Bālaputradeva would stand as follows :

The Sailendras.
Vīravairimathana
|
Samarāgravīra
(married Tārā,
daughter of Varmasetu)
|
Bālaputradeva
(contemporary of Devapāla)

The mention in the inscription (v. 23) that Balavarman, who acted as the *Dūta* in the matter of this copper-plate

grant, was the ruler of Vyāghrataṭimaṇḍala and the right hand person (*dakṣiṇabhujā*) of king Devapāla is interesting. There is of course at present no data to locate Vyāghrataṭi. But it must have been the name of a portion of either Northern or Eastern Bengal. Vyāghrataṭi is mentioned in the Khālimpur copper-plate of Dharmapāla and the Anulīa copper-plate of Lakshmaṇasena¹ as being in the Paundravardhana-bhukti. In the former record the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Nārāyaṇavarman is represented to have received a gift of land from king Dharmapāla in the Vyāghrataṭimaṇḍala. Although it would be rather tempting to suggest that Balavarman and Nārāyaṇavarman belonged to the same family there are no adequate proofs in support of this conclusion. It is not clear from the inscription whether Balavarman was actually deputed by king Devapāla as an ambassador to the court of the king of Sumatra. One thing, however, is very significant. Devapāla issues this grant from his Camp at Mudgagiri, i. e., Mungir in Bihār and commissions a governor under him in charge of a territory in Bengal to communicate his orders to the Government of Sumatra. This probably means that as Bengal was bordering on the sea Balavarman would unquestionably be in a far more convenient position than anybody else to take charge of this commission which would require him either to proceed to the court of Sumatra, or to meet the Sumatran party that was probably awaiting the orders of king Devapāla, in Bengal.

I append a reading and translation of the record. The first fifteen verses which also occur in the Mungir plate have already been translated by Prof. Kielhorn in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXI, pp. 257-58, and the rest by Mr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XVII, pp. 324-27. On many points I am unable to accept the latter's reading and interpretation and these are indicated

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 249; *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIX (1900), part I, p. 61.

in the footnotes to my reading. In regard to only one passage, I make my comments here.

In line 38, I read *prajñāpāramit-ādi-sakala-dharma-netrī-sthānasy-ārch-ārthe* and not *āyārthe*, and translate not as 'towards the income for etc.' but 'for the worship of etc.' Further I agree with Dr. Thomas in reading *tatraka-Bodhisattvagaṇasya* instead of *Tāntrika-Bodhisattvagaṇasya*, although I cannot accept his interpretation of 'Bodhisattvagaṇa' meaning 'monks'. This expression frequently occurs in Buddhist literature e. g. *dharmaṃ gacchhāmi śaraṇaṃ Bodhisattvagaṇaṃ tathā* (*Bodhicharyāvatāra*, Ch. 2, verse 26) where the natural sense 'multitude of Bodhisattvas' is clearly intended. Mr. Śāstrī has not been able I am afraid to explain the significance of *ashta-mahāpuruṣa-pudgalasya* which he translates as 'the eight great holy personages.' But the real meaning is something different. Buddhist philosophy distinguishes twelve classes of intelligent beings (*pudgalas*). Of these four are of the average ordinary class (*puṭhujjanas*) and eight of the noble or elect class (*ariya*). Of the eight classes again four are supposed to be in the 'stations' of Four Paths (*magga-tthāna*) and the other four in those of the Four Fruits (*phala-tthāna*).¹ These are the *asht-ārya-pudgala*, which is the same as the *ashta-mahāpuruṣa-pudgala*² of the present record. In the *Mahāvīyutpatti*³ one of the epithets of Buddha is *rājā āryapudgalānām*, i. e., king of the *āryapudgalas* or 'the eight elect classes'. The expression *ashta-mahāpuruṣa-pudgalasya* is here in apposition to *chāturdiś-ārya-bhikṣu-saṃghasya* which follows, and the two expressions taken together would mean 'the community of monks from four quarters comprising the eight great classes of intelligent beings.'

Regarding place names I should only note that Śrīnagara

¹ *Compendium of Philosophy* (Pali Text Society, 1910). Introduction, pp. 49-50. See also *Khuddakapāṭha*, 'Ratanasutta,' verse 6.

² Cf. *ashta puruṣa-pudgalāḥ* — *Mudhyamakavṛtti*, ed. Poussin, p. 478.

³ Asiatic Society ed. Part I, p. 92.

was identified with Patna first by Sir Charles Wilkins in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. I, p. 130, It occurs in the form Śrīnagara-bhukti also in Devapāla's Mungir Copper-plate,¹ and in the form *Nagara-bhukti* on a few Patna seals exhumed by Dr. Spooner, as well as in the Deo-
 baranārka inscription of Jīvitagupta II.² As regards Ajapura-
 naya it may be noted that a place Ajapura is mentioned also
 in the Bihār pillar inscription of Skandagupta.³

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 256, l. 30.

² *Ann. Prog. Rep., Arch. Surv., Eastern Circle*, 1916-17, p. 43 ; Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 218.

³ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 50.

TEXT.

[N.B. Hyphen has been used in the following transcript to indicate conjunction of letters for which no separate fount is available.]

Obverse.

- 1 ओ¹ स्वस्ति । ²सिद्धार्यस्य परार्थ-सुस्थित³-मतेस्सन्मार्गमभ्य-
- 2 स्यतस्सिद्धिस्सिद्धिमनुत्तरां भगवतस्तस्य प्रजामु क्रिया-
- 3 त् [1*] यस्त्वै धातुकसत्वसिद्धिपदवीरत्युग्रवीर्योदयाज्जित्वा
- 4 निर्वृतिमाससाद सुगतस्सन्मर्षभूमीश्वरः ॥⁴ [1*] सौभाग्यन्दध-
- 5 दतुलं श्रियस्सपत्न्या गोपालः पतिरभवद्वसुधरायाः [1*]
- 6 दृष्टान्ते सति कृतिनां⁵ सुरास्त्रि यस्मिन् श्रेयाः पृथुसगरादयोष्य-
भूवन् ॥⁶ [2*] विजित्य येनाजलघेर्व्वसुधरा⁷स्मिन्मोचिता
- 7 मोघपरिश्रद्धा इति । सवाप्यमुदाप्यविलोचनान्-पुनर्वनेषु
वन्धून्दृष्टुर्मातङ्गजाः ॥⁸ [3*] चलत्-स्वनन्तेषु वलेषु यस्य
विश्वम्भरा-
- 8 -या निचितं रजोभिः ॥⁹ पादप्रचारचममन्तरिक्षम्विहङ्गमानां¹⁰
सुचिरस्वभूव ॥ ¹¹ [4*] शास्त्रार्थभाजा चलतोनुशास्य वर्सान्-
प्रतिष्ठापय-
- 9 ता स्वधर्मं । श्रौधर्मपालेन सुतेन सोभूत्-स्वर्गस्थितानामनृणः
पितृणां ॥¹² [5*] अचलैरिव जङ्गमैर्यदीयैर्विचलद्भिर्द्विरदैः
कदर्थ्यमाना ।
- 10 निरुपप्लवमस्वरं प्रपिदे शरणं रेणुनिभेन भूतधात्री ॥ ¹³ [6 *]

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² The following 15 verses occur also in the Mungir plate of Devapāla (Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 254). The variants of the text are noted below.

³ The reading in the Mungir plate is *susthira*.

⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikīḍita. Kielhorn and Śāstrī read *sarvvārtha-bhūmīśvaraḥ*.

⁵ This corrects Kielhorn's reading *surinayinām* in the Mungir plate.

⁶ Metre : Praharshipī. ⁷ Read *vasundharām*. ⁸ Metre : Vamśastha.

⁹ There should be here only one stroke denoting the end of the second *pāda*.

¹⁰ Read *antarikṣam*.

¹¹ Metre : Upajāti.

¹² Metre : Indravajrā.

¹³ Metre : Aupachchhandasika.

केदारि विधिनीपयुक्तपयसां गंगा समेतेम्बुधौ¹ गोकर्णादिषु
चाप्यनुष्ठि-

- 11 तवतात्ती(न्ती)र्थेषु धर्म्याः क्रियाः [1*] भृत्यानां सुखमेव यस्य सकला-
नुष्ठृत्य दुष्टानिमान्-लोकान्साधयतोनुषङ्गजनिता² सिद्धिः परत्रा-
- 12 प्यभूत् ॥³ [7 *] तेस्तैर्दिविजयावसानसमये⁴ संप्रेषितानां⁵
परैः सत्कारैरपनीय खेदमखिलं स्वां स्वां गतानाम्भुवं⁶ [1*]
कृत्यं भावयतां
- 13 यदीयमुचितं प्रीत्या नृपाणामभूत् सोत्-कण्ठं हृदयन्दिवश्रुत-
वतां⁷ जातिस्मरणामिव ॥⁸ [8*] श्रीपरवलस्य दुहितुः
चित्तिपतिना रा-
- 14 इकूटतिलकस्य । रस्मादेव्याः पाणिर्जगृहे गृहमेधिना तेन ॥⁹
[9 *] धृततनुरियं लक्ष्मीः साक्षात्-चित्तिनुं शरीरिणी¹⁰
किमवनिपतेः कौत्तिर्मू-
- 15 तार्थवा गृहदेवता [1 *] इति विदधती शुच्याचा(रा) वितर्क-
वतीः प्रजाः प्रकृतिगुरुभिर्या शुद्धान्तङ्गुणैरकरोदधः ॥¹¹ [10 *]
ज्ञाध्या प्र(प)तिव्रतासौ सु-
- 16 स्मारत्वं समुद्रशक्तिरिव श्रीदेवपालदेवस्यसन्नवत्¹² सुतमसूत ॥¹³
[11 *] निर्मलोलो मनसि वाचि संयतः¹⁴ कायकर्म्मणि(णि)
च यः स्थितः शुचौ [1 *]
- 17 राज्यमाप निरुपप्लवम्पितुर्बोधिसत्व इव सौगतं पदं ॥¹⁵ [12 *]

¹ The reading in the Mungir plate is -*samet-āmbudhau*.

² Read *imāhlo*.

³ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁴ This corrects Kielhorn's reading *tair*=*tair* in the Mungir plate. Cf. A. K. Maitra, *Gauḍa-lekhamālā*, p. 36, n.

⁵ Read *sampreshitānām*.

⁶ Śāstrī reads *m-divaś*=

⁷ Metre : *Āryā*.

⁸ Metre : *Haripi*.

⁹ Metre : *Āryā*.

¹⁰ Metre : *Rathoddhatā*.

¹¹ Read *-m bhuvam*.

¹² Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹³ This stroke is unnecessary.

¹⁴ Read *-devaṇ*.

¹⁵ This stroke is unnecessary.

आम्यद्विविजयक्रमेण¹ करिभिस्तामेव² विन्ध्याटवीसुहामप्लव-
मानवाष्पपय-

- 18 [सो] दृष्टाः पुनर्बन्धवः³ [। *] कम्बोजेषु च यस्य वाजियु(व)-
भिर्ध्वस्तान्यराजौजसो हेषामिञ्चितहारिहेषितरवाः कान्ता-
श्चिरप्रीणिताः ॥⁴ [13 *] यः पूर्वं बलि-
- 19 ना कृतः कृतयुगे येनागमज्ञागवस्त्रेतायां प्रहतः प्रियप्रणयिना
कर्मन् यो हापरे । विच्छिन्नः कलिना शकद्विषि गते कालेन
लोकान्त-
- 20 रं⁵ येन त्यागपथस्त एव हि पुनर्विष्यष्टसुस्मीलितः ॥⁶ [14 *]
आ गङ्गागममहितात्-सपत्नशून्यामासेतु(तोः) प्रथितदशास्यकेतु-
कीर्त्तः [। *] उर्वीमावरुण-
- 21 निकेतनाच्च सिन्धोरालक्ष्मीकुलभवनाच्च यो वुभोज ॥⁷ [15 *] स
खलु भागीरथीपथप्रवर्त्तमान-नानाविधनौवाटकसंपादितसेतु-
बन्धनिहितशै-
- 22 -लशिखरश्रेष्ठिविभ्रमात्⁸ निरतिशयघनघनाघनघटा(टा)श्यामाय-
मानवासरलक्ष्मीसमारब्धसंततजलदसमयसन्देहात्⁹ उदीची-
नानेक-
- 23 नरपतिप्राभृतौकृताप्रमेयहयवाहिनीखरखुरोत्खातधूलौधूसरित-
दिगन्तरालात् परमेश्वरसेवासमायाताशेषजवं (जंवू)-¹⁰द्वी-
- 24 पभूपालपादातभरनमदवनेः श्रोमुहगिरिसमावासित-¹¹ श्रीमज्जय-
स्कन्धावारात्¹² परमसौगत-परमेश्वर-परमभटा(टा)रक-म-

¹ This stroke is unnecessary.

² Kielhorn reads *karibhi* [*h svā*] *m = ova* and remarks that 'in the lithograph there is no *visarga*, and the syllable here read *svā*, looks rather like *prā* or *mrā*' (*op. cit.*, p. 255, n. 24). In all likelihood the above reading would occur in the Mungir grant also.

³ The reading in the Mungir plate is *bāndhavāḥ*.

⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The reading in the Mungir plate is *chiram vikshītāḥ*.

⁵ Śāstri reads *m* instead of *m̐*.

⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁷ Metre : Rathoddhātā.

⁸ Śāstri corrects it as *°māa = nira°* which is unnecessary.

⁹ Śāstri corrects it as *°dehāt = utīchī°* which is unnecessary.

¹⁰ Śāstri reads *Jambu*.

¹¹ Śāstri reads *samāvāsi* and quotes the same reading at p. 310 of his article.

¹² Śāstri reads *śrīmañ*.

- 25 -हाराजाधिराज-श्रीधर्मपालदेवपादानुध्यातः परमसौगतः पर-
मेश्वरः परमभटा(द्वा)रको महाराजाधिराजः श्रीमान्देवपा-
26 लदेवः कुशली । श्रीनगरभुक्तौ राजगृहविषयान्तःपाति-अजपुरनय-
प्रतिबद्धस्वसम्बद्धाविच्छिन्नतलोपेत । नन्दिवनाक । मणि-
27 वाटक । पिलिपिण्कानयप्रतिबद्ध-नटिका ।¹ अचलानयप्रतिबद्ध-
हस्तिग्राम । गयाविषयान्तःपाति-कुमुदसूत्रवीथी-प्रतिबद्धपालाम-
28 क-ग्रामेषु । समुपगतां(न्) सर्वानिव राज²-राणक । राजपुत्र ।
राजामात्य³ । महाकार्तिकतिक । महादण्डनायक ।
महाप्रतीहार । महा-
29 सामन्त । महादौःसाधसाधनिक । महाकुमारा(मा)त्य [। *]
प्रमाद । शरभङ्ग [। *] राजस्थानी । योपरिक । विषयपति
[। *] दाशापराधिक । चौरेश्वर-
30 णिक । दाण्डिक [। *] दाण्डपाणिक [। *] शौल्कि
[। *] [गो]ल्मिक । चेतपाल [। *] कोटपाल⁴ । खण्डरच
[। *] तदायुक्तक । विनियुक्तक । हस्त्यश्वोद्ग-नौवल-व्यापृ-
31 तक [। *] किशोरवड्वागोमहिषधिकृत । दूतप्रै[ष] णिक ।
गमागमिक । अभित्वरमाणक । तरिक । तरपतिक ।⁵ गौड़-⁶
मालव-खश-कुलिक । कर्षा-
32 ट ।⁷ [ह] ण । चाट-भ(ट)-सेवकादीनन्यांश्चाकीर्तितान्
स्वपादपद्मोपजीविनः प्रतिवासिनश्च ब्राह्म(ह्म)णोत्तरान् महत्तम⁸-
कुटुम्बि -पुरोगमेदान्-
33 क । चण्डालपर्यन्तान् समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां

¹ The letter *ddha* is dropped in Śāstri's transcript.

² Omitted in the Mungir plate.

³ *Amātya* instead of *rājāmātya* occurs in the Mungir plate.

⁴ Read *kottapāla* as in the Mungir plate.

⁵ The list of officers in the Mungir plate includes *prāntapāla* which is here omitted.

⁶ Śāstri reads *Odra* which he corrects into *Oḍra* (Orissa). But the above reading

is certain.

⁷ This stroke is omitted in Śāstri's transcript.

⁸ The Mungir plate has *mahattara*.

यथोपरिलिखितस्वसम्बद्धाविच्छिन्नतलोपेत-नन्दिवनाक-ग्राम ।
मण्णिवाट-

- 34 -कग्राम । नटिकाग्राम । हस्तिग्राम । पालामकग्रामाः स्वसीमा-
दृष्टपूतिगोचरपर्यन्ताः सतलाः सोद्देशाः साम्प्रमधूकाः सजलस्थ-
35 लाः सोपरिकराः सदशापराधाः सचौरोद्धरणाः परिहृतसर्व्वपोढाः¹
अचाटभटप्रवेशा अकिञ्चित्प्रया [ह्या]² राजकुलीय-
36 समस्तप्रत्यायसमेता³ भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्राकञ्चिति-समकालं⁴
पूर्व्वदत्तभुक्तभुज्यमान-देवब्रह्मदेयवर्ज्जिताः मया
37 मातापितोरात्मन[श्च] पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ॥⁵ सुव[र्ण]हीपा-
धिप-⁶ म[ह]राज-श्रीबालपुत्रदेवेन दूतकमुखेन वयम्बिज्ञा-
पिताः⁷यथा
38 मया⁸ श्रीनालन्दायास्विहारः⁹ कारितस्तत्र भगवतो बुद्धभट्टारकस्य
प्रज्ञापारमितादिसकलधर्मनेत्रीस्थानस्यार्चार्थे¹⁰ ता(त)त्र-
39 क-¹¹बोधिसत्वगणस्याष्टमहापुरुषपुद्गलस्य चातुर्द्दिशार्थभिन्नु-
सङ्घस्य बलिचरुसत्रचीवरपिण्डपातशयनासनग्लान-प्रत्यय-भै
40 षज्याद्यर्थं धर्मरत्नस्य लेखनाद्यर्थं विहारस्य च खण्डस्फुटित-
समाधानार्थं शासनीकृत्य प्रतिपादित [।*] : [।*] यतो
भवद्भिः सर्वैरेव
41 भूमीर्दानफलगौरवादपहरणे¹² च महानरकपातादि-भयाद्दानमिद-
मभ्यनुमोद्य पालनीयं¹³ प्रतिवासिभिरप्याज्ञाश-

¹ Śāstri reads *sarvva* (*pūṭāḥ*).

² The ā-stroke does not seem to occur in the original.

³ Kielhorn expressed his doubt about the reading of this passage in the Mungir plate. But the reading is certain. ⁴ Śāstri reads *m* for *m̐*.

⁵ These strokes are meaningless as the sentence does not end here.

⁶ The letter *su* is so written that it looks almost like *mu* or *pu*.

⁷ Read *vayam vijñāpitāḥ*.

⁸ In Śāstri's transcript these two letters are wrongly put at the end of line 37.

⁹ Read *Nālandāyām*.

¹⁰ Śāstri reads *rchā* as *yā*; but the letter is very clear on the estampages. See remarks above.

¹¹ I accept the suggestion of Dr. Thomas (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 325, n. 3). Śāstri however reads *tāntrika*. See remarks above.

¹² Śāstri reads *pāla(na)*. But the first letter is *pha* and further *dāna-phala-gaura-vāt* occurring in this context is well-known from other copper-plate grants.

¹³ In Śāstri's transcript this stroke is omitted.

- 42 वण- विधेयैर्भूत्वा यथाकालं समुचितभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिप्रत्यायो-
पनयः कार्य इति ॥ सम्बत्¹ ३८ क(का)र्त्तिक-दिने २१ [1 *]

Reverse.

- 43 तथा च धर्मानुशन्सनश्लोकाः² [11 *] बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः
44 सगरादिभिः [1 *] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
फलं ॥³ [16 *]
45 स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा⁴ [यो] ह[रे]त वसुन्धरां । स विष्टायां⁵
क्षमिर्भूत्वा पिष्टभिः
46 सह पच्यते ॥ ⁶ [17 *] षष्ठिर्म्बर्षसह[स्रा]णि⁷ सर्गे⁸ मोदति
भूमिदः । आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव
47 नरके वसेत् ॥ ⁹ [18 *] अन्यद[त्तां] द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष
युधिष्ठिर महीं महीभृतां श्रेष्ठ-दा-
48 नाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ॥ ¹⁰ [19 *] अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदा [ह]-
रङ्गिरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं । लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्-सलिल-
बुद्बुद- [च]-
49 चलाद्या दानं फलं परयशःपरिपालनं च ॥ ¹¹ [20 *] इति
कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [1 *]
सकलमि-
50 दमुदाहृतं च बु[ध्वा] न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः¹² ॥
[21 *] दक्षिणभुज इव राज्ञः परवलदलने सहाय-
निरपेक्षः [1 *]
51 दूत्यं श्रीबलवर्मा विदधे धर्माधिकारिऽस्मिन् ॥ ¹³ [22 *]
अस्मिन् धर्मारम्भे दूत्यं श्रीदेवपालदेवस्य । विदधे श्रीबलवर्मा
व्याघ्रतटी- मण्डलाधिपतिः ॥¹⁴ [23 *]

¹ Read *samvat*.

² Read-*śamsana*.

³ Read *phalam*; Śāstri reads it in the original. Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁴ Read-*dattām parādattām vā*.

⁵ Read *viśvāyām*.

⁶ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁷ Read *śaśthīm*.

⁸ Read *svarge*.

⁹ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

¹⁰ Metre : Anuṣṭubh. Read *pālanam*.

¹¹ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

¹² Metre : Pushpitāgrā.

¹³ Metre : Āryā.

¹⁴ Metre : Āryā.

- 52 आसीदशेषनरपालविलोलमौलिमालामण्दिद्युति विबोधितघादपद्मः
[1 *] शैलेन्द्रवंशतिलको यवभूमिपालः श्रीवीरवैरिमथना-
- 53 [व] गताभिधानः ॥¹ [24 *] हर्म्यस्थलेषु कुमुदेषु मृणालिनीषु
शङ्खेन्दुकुन्दतुहिनेषु पदन्दधाना निःशेषदिङ्मुखनिरन्तरलब्ध-
गीति [:]
- 54 मूर्त्तेव यस्य भुवनानि जगाम कीर्त्तिः ॥² [25 *] भ्रूभङ्गे भवति
नृप । स्य³ यस्य कोपान्निर्भिन्नाः सह हृदयेर्दिषां त्रियोपि ।
वक्राणामि-
- 55 ह हि परोपघातदत्ता जायन्ते जगति भृषङ्गतिप्रकाराः ॥⁴
[26 *] तस्याभवन्नयपराक्रमशीलशाली राजेन्द्रमौलिशत-
दुर्लङ्घिताङ्घ्रि-
- 56 युग्मः । सूनुर्युधिष्ठिर-पराशर-भीमसेन-कर्णार्जुनार्जितयशः
समरायवौरः ।⁵ [॥ 27 *] उद्धूतमम्बरतला- [द्यु] धि⁶
सञ्चरन्त्या यत्नेनयावनिरजःप-
- 57 टलं पटीयः ।⁷ कर्णानिलेन करिणां शनकस्त्रितीर्थै-⁸
र्गण्डस्थलीमदजलैः शमयाम्बभूव ॥⁹ [28 *] अकृष्णपक्ष-
मेवेदमभूद्भवन-मण्डलं ।
- 58 [कु] लन्देत्याधिपस्येव यद्यशोभिरनारतं ॥¹⁰ [29 *] पौलोमीव
सुराधिपस्य विदिता सङ्कल्पयोनेरिव [प्रीतिः]¹¹ शैलसुतेव
मन्मथरि-

¹ Metre : Vasantatilaka. Śāstri reads °nugatābhidhānā.

² Metre : Vasantatilaka.

³ Read *uripasya*. The punctuation mark between *pa* and *sya* is misplaced.

⁴ Metre : Praharshīṇī. Read *bhriṣān*-

⁵ Metre : Vasantatilaka. Śāstri thinks that the reading *dhira* is also possible. But the first letter is clearly *vi* and not *dhī*.

⁶ Śāstri reads *talughu(dyuv)hi*.

⁷ Śāstri reads *padottham* which is wrong.

⁸ Read *śanakam vitirṇair* =. In Śāstri's transcript *vitirṇa* occurs instead of *vitirṇair*. I would have expected *śanakaiḥ* instead of *śanakam*.

⁹ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

¹⁰ Metre : Anuṣṭubh. Read *ratam*.

¹¹ This reading suggested by Śāstri is by no means certain, but may be provisionally adopted. The first letter looks like *Pri*.

- 59 पोक्ष्णोर्मुंरारिव । रात्रः सोमकुलान्वयस्य महतः
श्रीवर्मसेतोः¹ सुता तस्याभूद्वनिभुजोऽग्रमहिषी तारिव
ताराह्वया ॥² [30 *] माया-
- 60 यामिव कामदेवविजयी शुद्धोदनस्यात्मजः स्कन्दो नन्दितदेववन्द-
हृदयः शम्भोरुमायामिव । तस्यान्त[स्य] नरेन्द्रवन्दविनमत्पादारवि-
- 61 न्दासनः सर्वोर्वीपतिगर्व्वखर्व्वणचणः श्रीबालपुत्रोऽभवत् ॥³
[31 *] नालन्दागुणवन्दलुब्धमनसा भक्त्या च श्रीद्धोदनेर्बुध्वा
शैलसरित्तरंगतरलां
- 62 लक्ष्मीमिमां चोभनां । यस्तेनोन्नतसौधधामधवलः सङ्घार्थ-
मिच्छश्रिया नानासद्गुणभिच्छुसङ्गवसतिस्तस्याम्बिहारः⁴ कृतः ॥⁵
[32 *] भक्त्या
- 63 तत्र समस्तशुल्वनितावैधव्यदीक्षागुरुं कृत्वा शासनमाहितादरतया
सम्प्रार्थ्य⁶ दूतैरसी । ग्रामां(न्) पञ्च विपश्चितीपरियथोद्देशः
- 64 निमानात्मनः पित्रो[र्क्षी]कहितोदयाय च ददौ श्रीदेवपालं
नृपं ॥⁷ [33 *] यावत्सिन्धोः प्रबन्धः पृथुलहरजटाचोभिताङ्गा
च गङ्गा गुर्वी⁸
- 65 धत्ते फणोन्द्रः प्रतिदिनमचलो हेलया यावदुर्वी⁹ । यावच्चा-
स्तोदयाद्री रवितुरगखुरोद्दृष्टचूडामणी स्तस्तावत्सत्कीर्तिरेषा
प्रभव-
- 66 तु जगतामसत्क्रिया⁹ रोपयन्ती ॥⁹ [34 *]

¹ Śāstri reads *Dharmasetoh*. But the first letter *va* is very clear.

² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

³ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁴ Read *tasyām vihārāḥ*.

⁵ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁶ In Śāstri's transcript *yam-prārthya* occurs wrongly for *samprārthya*.

⁷ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Read *nripam*.

⁸ Read *°tām sat*.

⁹ Metre : Sragdharā.

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Welfare !

(Verse 1). May the beatitude attained by Siddhārtha, whose mind is well concentrated upon the cause of others, who is ever making himself accustomed to the Good Path, who having discovered the ways of beatitude for the dwellers of the three worlds by means of supreme exertion has attained Nirvāṇa, and who is the Enlightened one and master of all the stages of of Perfection,² lead the people of the Lord to welfare which nothing can transcend.

(V. 2). Possessed of unique conjugal fortune, Gopāla became the husband of the Earth, the co-wife of the goddess of Fortune. Even (the deeds of) Pṛithu, Śagara and others came to be regarded as real³, only because there was the example of that good king before the accomplished (world).

(V. 3.). Having conquered the Earth reaching upto the sea and considering that his elephants would now be a useless burden (to him) he set them free, and they retiring to the forests met again, with tears, their near and dear ones who had also tearful eyes.

(V. 4). When his innumerable forces moved, the sky crusted over with the dust of the Earth became for a long time a fit ground for the birds to walk upon.

(V. 5). He became cleared of his debt to his ancestors in heaven, by having a son, Dharmapāla, who followed the spirit of the Śāstras, controlled those that swerved from the path of righteousness and kept the castes confined to their respective spheres of duty.

¹ Bodhisattvas are born for the good of others—cf. *Bodhisattvānām parārthāt anyat-karma na kalpate-Śikshāsamuchchaya*, p. 117.

² Viz. the Ten Bhumis. See Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 81.

³ Cf. *tyāgena yo vyadhata śraddheyām*—*Angarāja kathām* in Bhagalpur giant of Nārāyaṇ-apāla, verse 12.

(V. 6). The Earth in the form of dust took refuge in the undisturbed sky being oppressed by his elephants which wandered about like so many moving mountains.

(V. 7). The servants of that king, who was engaged in uprooting with ease all the wicked ones and in subduing the three worlds, attained liberation in the next world since they kept his company and bathed at Kedāra, performed religious observances at the spot where the Ganges meets the sea, at Gokarṇṇa and other (sacred places).

(V. 8). On the conclusion of his world conquest the captive princes, who being (now) released returned to their respective kingdoms after being made to forget all the grudge (they bore against him) by means of various marks of high distinction, remembered the good treatment accorded to them by the king, and their hearts yearned for him out of affection as happens to those banished from Heaven, remembering their past existence.

(V. 9). By that householder, the Lord of the Earth, was taken in marriage the hand of Raṇṇādevī, the daughter of Paravala, the ornament of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

(V. 10). That pure-souled lady rose above the other members of the royal seraglio by reason of her inherent noble qualities. "Is she an incarnation of the goddess of Fortune, is she the Earth goddess that has assumed a visible shape, is she an embodiment of the king's fame or the tutelary deity (of the royal household)"—Such was the deliberation on which she kept engaged the subjects (of the king).

(V. 11). As from a sea-shell comes forth the precious pearl, so also from that illustrious lady, devoted to her husband, was born a son of beautiful countenance, named Devapāladeva.

(V. 12). Pure in mind, considerate in speech and having purity also in bodily action he inherited the kingdom, free from disquiet, from his father, even as the Bodhisattva, attained the status of the Enlightened one.

(V. 13). When he passed through the Vindhya forest in course of his conquering expedition, his elephants again met

their kindred ones whose tears began to gush forth (at their sight) ; and in the country of Kamboja, his youthful horses after having crushed the power of rival kings, met again their beloved ones, for whom they had long cherished affectionate feelings and with whom they (now) set up a pleasant neigh.

(V. 14). He has most clearly re-opened the path of charity which was first introduced by Bali the in Kṛita age, a'ong which walked the son of Bhṛigu in the Tretā age, on which Karṇa, the lover of friends, set his foot in the Dvāpara age, but which, since the enemy of the Śaka had gone to heaven, was closed by Kali in course of time.

(V. 15). He ruled over the Earth without a rival upto the place hallowed by Gaṅgā's descent, the Bridge testifying to the achievements of Rāvaṇa's enemy, the sea which is the abode of Varuṇa and upto that (sea) wherefrom Lakshmī was born.¹

(Ll. 21-26). Now from his royal camp of victory, situated at Mudgagiri, where the line of various boats proceeding along the course of the Ganges, appears like a series of mountain tops that had been sunk to build a (second) Setubandha ; where the brightness of the day becomes darkened by the dense herd of rutting elephants and it seems as if the eternal rainy season has set in ; where the sky becomes grey with the dust raised by the hard hoofs of innumerable horses which are brought as presents by many kings of the North ; and where the Earth is bent low under the weight of the footsoldiers of the numberless princes of Jambudvīpa (*i. e.* India) assembled to do homage to the Supreme lord (*i. e.* the king) ;—the devout worshipper of Sugata (*i. e.* Buddha), the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Devapāladeva, who meditates on the feet of the devout worshipper of Sugata (*i. e.* Buddha), the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, Dharmapāladeva, being in good health,—

(Ll. 28-33). commands those that are present, namely, the *Rājaraṇaka*, the *Rājaputraka*, the *Rājāmātya*, the *Mahākārtāky-*

¹ Cf. Bad il pillar inscription, ver-e 5, ā-Rerā-janakūt etc.

tika, the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, the *Mahāpratīhāra*, the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahādauhsādhāsāghanika*, the *Mahākumārāmātya*, the *Pramātri*, the *Sarabhaṅga*, the *Rājasthānīya*, the *Uparika*, the *Vishayapati*, the *Dāśōparādhika*, the *Chaurodharanika*, the *Dāṇḍika*, the *Dāṇḍapāsika*, the *Saulkika*, the *Gāulmika*, the *Kshetrapāla*, the *Koṭṭapāla*, the *Khaṇḍaraksha*, the *Tadāyuktaka*, the *Viniyuktaka*, the officers in charge of elephants, horses, camels, fleet, those in charge of young horses, mares, cows and buffaloes, the *Dūtapraishanika*, the *Gamāgamika*, the *Abhitvaramānaka*, the *Tarika*, the *Tarapatika*, the *Gauḍas*, the *Mālāvas*, the *Khaśas*, the *Kulikas*, the *Karṇṇāṭas*, the *Hunas*, the *Chāṭas*, the *Bhaṭas*, the servants and others who are not specified here, those dependent on 'his own lotus feet,' the residents, the best of Brāhmaṇas, from the chief among householders down to the Medas, the *Andhrakas* and the *Chañḍālas*,—

(Ll. 26-28). in respect of the following villages : In the Śrī nagarabhukti— Nandivanāka and Manivāṭaka, circumscribed within their respective boundaries, situated in the Ajapura-naya; Naṭikā, situated in the Pilipiṅkānaya and Hastigrāma in the Achalānaya of the Rājagriha-vishaya ; and the village of Pālāmaka situated in the Kumudasūtra-vīthi of the Gayā-vishaya :

(Ll. 33-37). Be it known to you that the Mahārāja Bālaputradeva, Lord of Suvaraṇṇadvīpa, by the mouth of the *dūtakas* (envoys), has informed Us as follows¹ :

"I have built a monastery at Nālandā"—(Accordingly) I have granted by means of a charter the aforesaid villages viz. Nandivanāka, Manivāṭaka, Naṭikā, Hastigrāma and Pālāmaka, circumscribed within their respective boundaries, including grass, pūti plant² and pastures, with surface and with mango and *madhūka* trees, with land and water, with *uparikara*, *daśāparādhā*, and police protection, exempt from all forced labour, without being entered by *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas*, exempt from all

¹ Cf. Khalimpur plate : *mahāsāmantaḍhipati-Śrī-Nārāyaṇavarmanā dūtaka-yuvarāja-śrī-Tribhuvanapālāmukhena vāyam=evam vijñāpitā yathā* etc. (ll. 49ff.). There should have been the word *iti* after *vihāraḥ kārītaḥ*.

² Probably same as *pūtika* ; see Bhānuji on Amara II, 48.

dues, with all the taxes due to the Royal family, according to the principle of *Bhūmicchhidra*, for as long as the Sun, Moon and Earth endure and with the exclusion of (those parts of the villages) that were granted to gods and Brāhmaṇas before, and were or are being enjoyed now, for the sake of the increase of my own¹ merit and fame as well as those of my parents—

(Ll. 38-40) for the worship at the aforesaid place, of the lord Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka, who is the eye of all² the Virtues including *Prajñāpāramitā*; for offerings, oblations, abode, garments, food, lying and sitting accommodation as well as medicine for the sick and such other purposes, in respect of the Bodhisattvas (installed) there and the Community of Buddhist monks from the Four quarters, comprising the Eight classes of great personages; for the copying etc. of religious texts; and for the overhauling of the monastery when damaged or broken.

(Ll. 42-42). Therefore, you should all signify your approval to this grant and protect it in consideration of the fact that a gift of land brings great merit (to the giver) and its taking away entails the terror of falling into the great Hell and so forth. The inhabitants (of the villages) also having heard my order should obey it and pay regularly their dues such as *bhāga* and *bhoga* taxes, gold etc. The year 39, the 21st day of Kārttika.

(L. 43). There are also verses in praise of Dharma.

[Here follow six of the customary verses, vv. 16-21].

(V.22). In this religious matter, Balavarmman, who was the right hand as it were of the king and who never required the help (of others) in crushing the forces of the enemy, performed the function of the Messenger.

(V. 23).³ In this religious function, Balavarmman, the lord of Vyāghrataṭimaṇḍala, performed the service of the Messenger of Devapāladeva.

(V. 24). There was a king of Yavabhūmi (Java), known by the appellation of Viravairimathana, who was an ornament

¹ I. E. of king Devapāla.

² i.e. the ten *Pāramitās* or 'transcendental virtues' according to Buddhist texts.

³ The repetition in this verse of the fact recorded in verse 22 is to be noted.

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of the Sailendra family. The lotus-peta's of his feet were unfolded by the light of the sparkling jewels in the strings around the heads of innumerable princes.

(V. 25). His fame assuming as it were a bodily form travelled throughout the worlds, placing her feet on palaces, lilies, lotuses, conches, the moon, jasmine flowers and snow¹, and was sung in all the quarters, incessantly and without interval.

(V. 26). When that king bent his brow in anger the Fortune goddesses of his enemies also collapsed along with their hearts. Truly, in this world, those that are crooked invariably get into a variety of ways of effectively striking blow at others.²

(V. 27). Of him there was a son Samarāgravīra (by name), who was endowed with a knowledge of the Śāstras, valour and good character, whose two feet were deeply caressed by the hundreds of heads of paramount sovereigns and who acquired as much renown as that of Yudhishṭhira, Parāśara, Bhīmasena, Karṇa and Arjuna.

(V. 28). The multitude of stinging dust of the earth raised by his army moving in the battlefield and by the wind caused to blow by the ears of their elephants, gradually came down (*i. e.* settled down) from the sky on account of the (rainlike) ichor issuing out of the cheeks (of the elephants).

(V. 29). By his fame the world became eternally deprived of the Dark fortnight and was (thus) comparable to the family of the lord of the Daityas (who had not Kṛishṇa on their side).³

(V. 30). The lady named Tārā, who was like Tārā (goddess) herself, a daughter of the great king Varmasetu of the Soma lineage, became the Chief queen of that lord of the earth, just as Paulomī was known to have been that of Indra, Prīti that of the Mindborn one (*i. e.* Cupid), the Mountain's daughter (Pārvatī) that of Śiva and Lakshmī, that of Mura's enemy (*i. e.* Vishṇu).

¹ Fame is conceived by Sanskrit poets as white, hence its comparison with palaces, snow etc. which are proverbially white.

² In this verse the words *bhaṅga* and *vakra* are used as *ślisṭu*. The former denotes both 'defeat' and 'bending' and the latter 'crooked' as well as 'bent'.

³ There is a *śleṣha* on *Kṛishṇapakṣa*. One of the epithets of Kṛishṇa is *Daityāri*. Just as darkness was made non-existent in the world so also Kṛishṇa was not on the side of the Daityas.

(V. 31). Just as from Māyā was born the son of Śuddhodana (*i. e.* Buddha), the conqueror of the god of Love, or Kārttikeya, who delighted the hearts of all the gods from Śiva and Umā, so also from her (Tārā) was born his (Samarāgravīra's) son Bālaputradeva, before whose lotuslike footstool a host of kings bowed down. He was a past master in lowering the pride of all the lords of the Earth.

(V. 32). With a mind attracted by the excellent qualities of Nālandā and through devotion for the Buddha, and considering also that the fickle goddess of Fortune is as unsteady as the waves of a mountain stream, he who was the Wealth, Friend and Beauty of the Buddhist Community, built at the above place that monastery, which was white with lofty buildings plastered with stucco and where resided the Community of various monks possessed of virtues.

(V. 33). Having on that behalf respectfully sought through ambassadors the aforesaid five villages for aforementioned purposes from king Devapāla, who was as it were the preceptor in the initiation of the wives of all his enemies to widowhood, he through devotion executed a charter and made a gift of them (*i. e.* the villages), for the increase of the welfare of himself, his parents and the (whole) world.¹

(V. 34). As long as there is stir on the sea, as long as the limbs of Gaṅgā remain trembling on account of the thick plaited hair of Śiva, as long as the lord of the serpents carries unmoved and without effort, the heavy weight of the Earth everyday, as long as the jewel-like crests of the Eastern and Western mountains are rubbed by the hoofs of the horses of the Sun god, so long also may this pious deed endure establishing virtues in this world.

¹ Cf. line 37 above where a similar expression is used in regard to Devapāla, the original donor.

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